

# THE POLISH REVIEW

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Above is a typical picture of a waif from the Sandomierz district, for six months the battlefield between the Russian and German forces. The homeless wander aimlessly in the country made desolate by war. Parents killed or lost; homes, whole villages burnt; helplessly the children tramp the roads in hunger, cold, and inclement weather, often wrapped only in rags. No one to take care of them. Those few adults left alive have so little themselves, they are unable, though, willing to help.

Private and Catholic shelters and orphanages receive no aid from the State, and are forced to sustain the homes as best they can on the meager donations of the impoverished community. Many of the homeless children are seriously morally delinquent.

The refusal of the Bierut regime—impelled by the Kremlin—to participate in the Marshall plan for European reconstruction will disastrously affect Polish children.



# POLAND IN THE UNITED NATIONS

THE American public has grown accustomed to the fact that when a controversy arises between the Soviet representatives and the delegates of other powers in the Security Council, or for that matter in any other organ of the United Nations, the representatives of the provisional satellite regime, at present administering Poland, side invariably with Russia.

Whenever the permanent delegate of the Soviet Union, Mr. A. Gromyko, blocks concerted action of the forces of peace represented by the majority of other members of the Council, his faithful lieutenant, Dr. O. Lange, sides with him. When a voting takes place, he always adds his paltry and unimportant voice to the resounding Soviet vetoes. As this august body can not pass any decision without concurrence of all five permanent members of the Security Council, voting or not by Dr. Lange is meaningless anyhow.

With the Russian delegate and his Polish lieutenant invariably opposing all the other countries in the Security Council on every matter of importance, a situation has been created in which the proportion of votes, nine to two, has been accepted as a matter of course.

This consistent behavior of Dr. Lange, since he began representing in 1946 the provisional satellite administration of Poland in the Security Council of the United Nations, insignificant as it is for the procedure of this UN organ, is not entirely deprived of wider importance. Quite the opposite; from the point of view of the most vital interests of Poland it has produced grave and far reaching results of a purely negative value.

Dr. Lange achieved to a considerable degree an identification in the public opinion of this country of his opportunist, irresponsible behavior with the attitudes, desires, and political sympathies of the people of Poland he pretends to represent.

When on July 29, Mr. Gromyko, once more abusing his veto privilege, thwarted over seven months of strenuous efforts of all other members of the Security Council, striving to bring peace and security to the Balkans by creating a United Nations Balkan frontier commission, the New York Times next day headlined its article on the subject as follows: "Only Poland Joins Gromyko in Saying No." A noted radio commentator said: "The only nation that supported Russia was Poland."

There you are: Mr. O. Lange, only recently a naturalized U. S. citizen, who readily repudiated his allegiance to America to become one of the professional Soviet stooges, and who does not represent anybody but a wholly unrepresentative, provisional, satellite administration at present ruling in Warsaw, is being identified with Poland and the Polish nation by opinion forming papers and radio.

At this juncture it seems appropriate to recall the already forgotten fact, that Poland was not invited to the San Francisco conference, and her legal government, although at the time still officially recognized by all the united nations with the only exception of Russia, was barred from participating in it.

It was ominous and indeed symbolic of the whole future of the United Nations, that for the country which first took up arms to oppose Hitler in 1939, there was no place at the San Francisco conference table and on the Charter born on June 26, 1945, with the inherited, deadly veto disease, only an empty space was left for the signature of Poland at a later date.

The signing of the Charter by a representative of the provisional administration of Poland took place as late as

October 15, 1945 and—a fact symbolic of the whole future conduct of Poland's representatives in the new international organization — her ratification was sent simultaneously with those of the USSR, Byelorussian SSR and Ukrainian SSR on October 24, 1945.

Dr. Lange, supposedly representing a country which was elected for two years till the end of 1947, acted twice in monthly rotation of all members as President of the Council. The Polish term expiring within five months from now, he will never occupy again the chair of the Council President, because Poland as a non permanent member is not eligible for re-election.

Dr. Lange had the exclusive and doubtful privilege of being the only President of the Security Council who, on July 17, during the Balkan debate received a sharp admonition from the British and the Australian delegates for his lack of objectivity and was forced by them to agree to withdraw and to strike from the official record of the meeting his inappropriate and insulting remarks.

Dr. Lange's insistence on putting forward in the Council and at the General Assembly sessions the question of the Franco regime in Spain, at any time when Russia wanted to have a diversion from really important international issues, and his complete lack of understanding of obvious interests of Poland, unless in his mind they corresponded with those of Russia or of international communist conspiracy, won him in Lake Success the nickname of the "Spanish delegate".

"Spanish" or "deputy Soviet delegate", whatever Dr. Lange's case may be and whatever citizenship and allegiance he chooses after he ceases to represent the provisional, satellite administration of Bierut in the United Nations, one idea has always to be kept in mind by the enlightened American public opinion: Dr. Lange does not and never will represent Poland and the Polish Nation and should never be identified with either.

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### CONTENTS

Poland in the United Nations

The Two Alternatives of Poland's Foreign Policy

Russia and the Warsaw Uprising

Ann Su Cardwell's Letter

The National Qualities of Polish Painting

News and Comments

Murder, Inc.

Three Poems by Norwid

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# THE TWO ALTERNATIVES OF POLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY

by OSCAR HALECKI

POLAND'S foreign policy was and is dominated by the fact that she is threatened by her two big neighbors: Germany and Russia. German-Russian cooperation means partition of Poland. But German-Russian hostility is hardly less dangerous for the country placed between the two opponents. It must become their main battlefield, and, if it sides with either one of them, it will be reduced to the role of a satellite.

It is, however, wrong to believe that cooperation with Germany or cooperation with Russia are the only possible alternatives for Poland's foreign policy. If so, her situation would really be hopeless. But fortunately these two possibilities, representing the same policy of appeasement, are only one alternative which Poland can choose. The other is cooperation with the western democracies in a system of alliances or of international organization.

This second alternative, Poland's only hope, has of course a prerequisite condition: a sufficient interest in Poland on the part of the western powers. If these powers decide to sacrifice Poland in order to appease either Germany or Russia, then, and only then, there is no solution of the Polish problem. But then there is also no real peace for Europe.

This is a fundamental truth which gradually becomes clear to all serious students of foreign affairs, especially in America. Polish experts have a special obligation and opportunity to contribute to such a clarification of ideas, because in so doing, they render a real service not only to their own country, but also to this one. For in the relations between Poland and the West, particularly with the United States, the possibility of cooperation is based upon a real community of interests and ideas, and upon a natural friendship.

It is, therefore, hard to understand why a former Polish diplomat, Mr. W. W. Kulski, writing of these problems in the leading American review, *Foreign Affairs*,\* took exactly the opposite view. Under the appearances of a detached, realistic approach, he tries to defend two completely unrealistic assumptions. His starting point is the old, by now utterly discredited, thesis that, in general, Poland's only chance was and is an understanding with, or rather a surrender to, one of her stronger neighbors. Since she rejected Hitler's proposals, she ought to have seized the first opportunity for establishing with Stalin not only an understanding, but a lasting Polish-Russian friendship.

In this case, it is an overstatement to speak of "friendship." It is really asking too much from the Poles to feel a lasting friendship for those who not only in centuries past (very superficially summarized in Mr. Kulski's article) but in recent years, 1939-1941, had done the Poles such shocking wrongs and had inflicted upon them such terrible sufferings in cooperation with Hitler. Moreover, the Russians did not make it easier for the Poles to forget all about it, when they pretended even in the treaty of July 30, 1941, that the deportations of countless Polish people had been made "on sufficient grounds," and when they called their promised liberation an "amnesty"!

Nevertheless, General Sikorski signed that treaty, because he honestly tried to achieve an understanding with Russia. Yet, Mr. Kulski, without giving his late chief much credit for that very real contribution to Polish-Russian reconciliation and allied unity, prefers to blame

*Professor Oscar Halecki is one of Poland's most distinguished historians. From 1918 up to the German occupation he was Professor of Eastern European History in the University of Warsaw, where he also served as Dean of the Faculty of Arts. He also taught International Relations at the Warsaw School of Political Sciences, and was frequently invited to lecture in the leading universities of Europe and the United States, where he recently was Visiting Professor of History at Vassar College. He served as an expert of the Polish Delegation at the Versailles Peace Conference, was a member of the League of Nations Secretariat, and is at present Director of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, Professor of history at Fordham University and at the Ecole des Sciences Sociales et Politiques de l'Université de Montréal.*

him for having "perhaps missed a great opportunity," because he did not discuss with Stalin the "little change" of the pre-war Polish-Soviet frontier which the dictator claimed later in December 1941.

A historian might regret that because of Sikorski's reserve we shall never know what Stalin really meant by his tempting "Choot, choot" (a wee bit). But the interest of that question is purely academic. No matter what the Polish prime minister would have "hastened" to promise when the Germans stood not far from Moscow, it would not have changed "the result of the war" for his country. A little later, Stalin would have simply asked for a "little" more, and not only in territorial matters. For it is one of Mr. Kulski's basic mistakes to believe in and try to persuade his readers that if the Poles had made the requested territorial concessions in time, Russia would not have imposed upon them a communist controlled, puppet, government. On the contrary, Poland's real independence, and not any boundary dispute, was the main issue.

The comparison with Czechoslovakia is, indeed, very instructive, but it shows just the opposite of what Mr. Kulski wants to prove. The government of President Benes did precisely what, in his opinion, the Polish government should have done. It "was permitted to return to Czechoslovakia," but that was all. Russia, which had not raised the slightest territorial claims in the treaty concluded with Czechoslovakia in 1943, claimed and was given the whole province of Carpatho-Ukraine as soon as the Red army reached that region in 1945. The composition of the Czechoslovak government was changed gradually until it was completely under communist leadership; what finally was left to Czechoslovakia is—to use Mr. Kulski's own expression—a certain degree of "internal autonomy." That degree is probably somewhat larger than in Poland, but it was not for any kind of "internal autonomy" in a greatly reduced territory, nor for the safe return of one or two politicians, that the Polish people have fought and continue to suffer since September 1, 1939.

There are, however, two striking differences between the Polish and the Czechoslovak problems. The Soviet Union proved, of course, anxious to include also Czechoslovakia in its sphere of influence. But it has always been a much more important objective of both the tsarist Russian and communist policy to destroy the independence and historical continuity of Poland, by making her

(Please turn to page 12)

\*Vol. 25, No. 4, July 1947, pp. 667-684: "The Lost Opportunity for Polish-Russian Friendship."



# RUSSIA AND THE WARSAW UPRISING

by T. ZAWADZKI

THE Warsaw uprising was the result of a careful decision of Polish Underground leaders. This decision was not at all influenced by the frequent summons and encouragement of Soviet propaganda. The Uprising broke out at a moment when the Germans had declared the mobilization of 100,000 men for enforced labor, and not a man had responded. It was a moment when German cruelty and persecution reached the limit and thousands preferred to die in the struggle, rather than before firing squads.

The prolonged radio campaign from Moscow in its broadcasts of July 29 and 30, 1944, called distinctly for undertaking a struggle on a wide scale against the Germans. A number of leaflets and proclamations of the PPR (Polish Workers' Party—Communist) during the first half of 1944 urged an uprising, emphasizing the role that Warsaw was to play in the coming struggle.

The proclamation of the war council of Col. Berling's army of June 6, 1944, encouraged a general uprising. General Rola-Zymierski, "chief of the Polish army," in his order of August 13, called on Col. Berling's army to launch a concentrated assault on Warsaw.

Such were the words of the Russian army, and now let us turn to their actions, or rather the lack of them. The most important need of insurgents was to obtain arms and ammunition, as well as anti-aircraft defense, which would stop the German bombardment of the defenseless city.

The Soviet front ran only a few miles away from Warsaw. From the numerous Soviet airfields behind the front line, the distance to Warsaw was only a few minutes flight. Stalin, in his talks with Mikolajczyk on

August 9, promised air support for the Polish capital.

Before the Uprising, Soviet aircraft had flown over Warsaw day and night, carrying out air raids since the middle of July. Beginning with the afternoon of August 1st and for five weeks thereafter not a single Soviet plane appeared over the city. On August 13 and 14, Mikolajczyk cabled to Stalin, appealing for fulfillment of the promised air support. On the 17th and 18th, the Polish government was informed of the efforts of Roosevelt and Churchill on behalf of Poland, but even these interventions brought no result.

Because of the difficulty of supplying Warsaw from Italian bases, Vice-Premier Attlee was presented on August 11 with a Polish plan to have the supplies sent en masse from Great Britain. The plan anticipated the landing of allied aircraft on Soviet bases behind the front lines. Such mass flights had been executed before while bombarding Germany. The British agreed to the plan and asked Russia for permission to have their aircraft land on Soviet bases. On August 15, a large contingent of American Liberators was ready to start, but was unable to proceed, because of lack of consent from Russia.

At this time the great part of Warsaw was in Polish hands, and the supplies, falling into the hands of the insurgents, would have been of great help. On August 19, Roosevelt and Churchill together, and on September 4 Churchill alone, sent cables to Stalin urgently appealing for his immediate consent to have American aircraft land on Soviet bases.

Not until September 10, the day of the Soviet assault on Praga (a Warsaw suburb) did the Soviet consent

come, confirmed in full detail on the 12th and 13th. A few days later 110 American aircraft dropped army materiel for Warsaw. But by that time Warsaw was for the most part back in German hands, and the materiel was of little help to the insurgents.

After the occupation of Praga, the Soviet forces began dropping supplies at night, but only for purposes of propaganda. The ammunition was not adapted to the kind of arms the Home Army used, and the materiel, as well as food, was dropped without parachutes, reaching the ground damaged, hence useless. Stalin had told Mikolajczyk in Moscow that Russia wanted to take Warsaw. After the taking of Praga on September 14, the crossing of the Vistula was facilitated. At great effort the Polish Home Army held on to a large stretch of the riverfront near Czerniakow. With artillery and air support crossing the Vistula presented no difficulty.

The landing of Colonel Berling's battalion on Czerniakow in the night of September 16 proved just that. As it had been Berling's personal decision, he paid for it by falling into disfavor. He had shown that the withholding of help for Warsaw was not due to a difficult

war situation, but only to the Soviet decision to ruin the city and to decimate its population.

The few supplies dropped by the Soviet air force at the end of the uprising were made in full perfidy. Russia wanted to create the impression that she would soon make an assault on Warsaw. In this way she hoped to prolong the uprising and cause a higher number of casualties, that being Moscow's sole aim.

Warsaw, the heart and spirit of Underground Poland and faithful to the Polish government, was a threat to Soviet plans; that is why it was condemned to destruction. The assault on Warsaw was stopped in full consciousness by Stalin for purely political reasons.

The undeniable facts and documents show clearly Russia's ill-will and treason toward Poland, the most faithful ally, the country that was the first to begin the fight in the name of freedom against the aggression of Hitler's armies and nazi totalitarianism. The Warsaw uprising will remain an accusation against Russia. The time will come when justice will cease to be obstructed by the temporary tactics of international politics. Then the world will hear the ashes of Warsaw say: I ACCUSE.

THE HERO OF THE  
WARSAW UPRISING  
IN THE UNITED STATES



General Tadeusz Bor-Komorowski, leader of the Warsaw uprising, welcomed in the United States in 1946 by Charles Rozmarek, President of the Polish-American Congress.



Tragic aftermath of the Warsaw uprising. Exhausted defenders of Warsaw in the Pruszkow concentration camp.



# Ann Su Cardwell's Letter.

No. 169, August 5, 1947

HOW ESTONIANS FEEL ABOUT the Soviet occupation and incorporation of their country is expressed by deeds as well as words. Take this passage from a report of a Swedish correspondent to his paper, the Dagens Nyheter, Sept. 28, 1944, as reproduced in that very readable and informative quarterly, The Baltic Review:

"We were again confronted with a frightening scene as we were meeting a new refugee boat which the gales of the Baltic had cast ashore. It is an incomprehensible miracle how a thousand people had managed to find room on so small a schooner . . . They had spent 38 hours lying motionless in the lashing gale and icy rain. The children and infants were wrapped in rugs soaked through. And after this group of a thousand fugitives had reached the shore, all fell on their knees, singing with voices made hoarse by the cold, a psalm of thanksgiving for their escape to a free country.

"I asked a tall Estonian fisherman: 'Why did you risk your lives like this? Why did you not remain on your own coast?' . . . He answered: 'I would brave the hardships of this voyage three times over again rather than remain in Estonia.'"

Some 25,000 Estonians managed to escape Soviet clutches and reach Sweden, where they have that freedom denied them in their native land. In Sweden they have their own institutions, churches, publications, organizations—among the lastnamed enough Estonian YMCA's to require their own national YMCA secretary. But back in Estonia, arrests and deportations to the depths of Russia continue, so that "it seems as if those dread days had returned when man was frightened by the sight of another man's footprints in the snow—as has been reported by historians of the times of Ivan the Terrible."

Comparison of the Nazi and Communist regimes as observed by Baltic citizens who lived under both has been summarized by the editor of the quarterly—The Baltic Review—from which the Swedish correspondent's report was taken. I quote passages from his article:

"The monopolistic party organization, the hierarchy, the cult of the semi-divine (or positively divine) leader, even the internal intrigues were much the same in both regimes. Freedom of expression, freedom of the press were equally conspicuous by their absence. Listening to foreign broadcasts was made a capital offense by the nazis. The communists were less simple-minded; they confiscated all receiving sets, permitting only community listening under the control of reliable party members, who alone were permitted to switch on the sets. The bureaucracy, the red tape of the two regimes were immense, although the nazis never quite succeeded in emulating the spate of forms and questionnaires filling all Soviet offices to the bursting point.

"The real center of power in either system resided in that State within the State, the political police. (It is agreed) that despite all its efforts to imitate the advanced methods of the NKVD, Himmler's organization until the end remained a clumsy, awkward copy of the much more go-ahead, subtle, sadistic and sophisticated body perfected by Beria (head of the NKVD). For many years the western democracies refused to credit the horror stories which were told by fugitives from Himmler's concentration camps—until the course of military events confronted them with the bestial facts. At present the

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West is comparatively indifferent to what it hears about the innumerable forced labor camps in the East where tens of millions of people are dying a lingering death. But the moment is bound to come when it will have to face the truth. Then it will see a picture which will make the Gestapo appear almost harmless and Dante's Inferno a mere nursery bogey."

AMERICANS should be interested in Soviet progress and production, now that our country is paired with the Soviet Union—paired not for cooperation but for conflict. And I know of no better introduction to the study of Soviet industry than through acquaintance with its forced labor. Plain Talk, that up-to-the-minute little monthly, has got out a 17½" x 22½" map showing the location of Soviet forced labor camps, accompanied by explanations, photographs, and figures. It costs only 25 cents. Every group studying the Soviet Union should have one. Address: Plain Talk, 240 Madison Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

A recent arrival from Lithuania reports that Russians occupy the majority of official positions in that country, that therefore Lithuanian is rarely spoken in government offices. Railroad officials are Russians. The Lithuanian anthem is now referred to as one of the "national songs." The Lithuanian flag may not be publicly displayed and the use of the national seal is forbidden.

Large numbers of Red Army men are reported to be in Lithuania; this witness says they are "ragged and hungry, and commit many robberies." Russians are being brought in and settled in towns and on the lands that have been made into state farms; these people also make a very bad impression, being ragged and diseased. Merchandise is so scarce that even those possessing ration cards can get little. Bread is the only thing on the food ration list obtainable, and each day's ration must be claimed that day or forfeited. Official prices mean nothing as everything has to be bought on the free market where everything is extremely high. Russians, eager to get used clothing and furniture, pay fantastic prices for such articles. An interesting comment on the food situation in the Soviet Union is the statement that "Lithuania is flooded with people coming from Russia to seek food." You may recall that the other Baltic countries have reported similar bread-seekers. And another noteworthy fact is the sudden fall in the value of the rouble from 35 to 90 to the dollar after President Truman's March 12th speech.

THE SOVIET PUPPETS IN POLAND declared that because of their system of collection and distribution there would be no excessive suffering in Poland this year. As everybody should know, that "system" provides only for those the regime cares to see survive. Poland is actually short 1,000,000 tons of grain. The UN's Food and Agriculture Organization commission reports that Poland will suffer from "a disastrously short crop of bread grains." The puppets are already trying to get promise of grain from the USSR. A picture of the general situation is given by a correspondent of the Svenska Dagbladet (Stockholm) of June 15:

"After a year and a half's absence from Poland, a foreign observer is struck by the reconstruction progress . . . However, one who looks closely notes a great weariness and air of discouragement . . . It is a depression



psychological rather than political in character. Political differences are still great; but it is poverty, suffering, the grayness of daily life that have had their effect and make every other Pole you meet dream of going to America. The situation is made harder by the fact that this year's harvest will not be more than 50% that of 1938. Only large grain imports can save Poland from hunger. . ."

"Transfer of masses of the population from one place to another have resulted in large areas lying uncultivated; and there is a shortage of labor where land is under cultivation. Floods caused great losses, and only official optimists say that the outlook is better than in 1946. Food rations have been greatly cut, while prices have risen out of all proportion to salaries and wages. The very thought of the coming winter frightens the Polish people. There is a shortage of clothing. There is plenty of everything, but only for those who have money. . . . Vodka is cheap and easy to find. . . . It fills the regime's treasury while it ruins the people's health. . ."

There is much in the American press these days about genocide. But nobody has called attention to the fact that the process of extermination or subjugation Moscow is carrying out with respect to the Polish nation is genocide.

"If it is difficult to hear the voice of Poland in 1947," wrote a Belgian journalist, Alain de Puelle, after a visit of several weeks in Poland, "there is no doubt that its spirit is unshaken. I had ocular evidence of that when, at the close of a five weeks stay in Poland, I visited the Wawel crypt. I saw a number of imposing tombs, but not one of them was decorated. Then I came to one heaped with flowers, which, as I learned later, are constantly renewed by the hundreds of Polish visitors who in this way pay their homage to Joseph Pilsudski. . . . Pilsudski is today the symbol of freedom and independence which the Polish people unyieldingly hold as their goal."

**THOUSANDS OF WARSAW'S INHABITANTS** live in the ruins, residential construction giving place to government buildings and apartments for government officials. But the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society has been provided with a fine home, according to the Kurjer Codzienny (Warsaw). Here is the account: "Warsaw has a decidedly pleasant club in the rooms of the Central Club of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society at 26 Stalin Ave. (No respectable person would ever call Ujazdowska Avenue by that disgraceful name, of course. Readers should remember that in Moscow blueprints for the future, Fifth Ave. in New York and Pennsylvania Ave. in Washington will have to be re-named. — A. S. C.) The club has a reading-room and library, a beautiful lecture hall, and splendid, truly luxuriously furnished rooms for chess and bridge. There is a cocktail bar for the convenience of the members and their guests, a most attractive restaurant with dancing, where the walls are hung with fine rugs and pictures by well known artists, all on a level with the best restaurants in Stockholm, London, Paris, or Geneva. In a blossom-filled, tree-shaded garden where a fountain plays, there are tables for coffee and tea. Here entertainers appear and in the evening lights are turned off and moving pictures are shown. Warsaw has in this club a pleasant and useful center of social life and the finest restaurant and coffee-house in the city, open daily until 1 A. M."

What the character of the entertainment, the films shown, the lectures given, the literature in the library and reading-room, the society in general, readers of these letters can infer without elaboration on my part.

Polish citizens numbering 600,000 are still held in the USSR, according to a statement made in the Polish "parliament" July 1 by Andrzej Witos, who was one of the Poles cooperating with the Soviets and a member at one time of the puppet government. Families of Poles who were drawn into the so-called Polish army in the USSR to fight with the Red army have never been able to get out. Witos might have made mention also of the tens of thousands of Home Army soldiers and hundreds of thousands of Poles deported in 1939-1940 who are used as forced labor in Russia. Moscow has on several occasions promised to repatriate all the Poles in Russia; but no such action has been taken. Deportation actually continues. Moreover, not long since the puppet Polish "foreign minister" stated that not all Poles in the USSR would be allowed to return, none of those in fact who have "committed a crime against the Soviet Union." And who of the Poles in the USSR has not, in Soviet interpretation, committed such a crime?

**SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY "REFORMS"** to be instituted in Poland this autumn can be characterized by one word—communization. The state, that is the communist party, takes the child at the age of 4 years and assumes control of his training and education from nursery school through university, provided he is permitted to attend a university. Influence of family and church is to be destroyed. The plan to win Polish youth to communism is now in full swing, the schools to be one of the chief mediums. Hence no teacher or professor who does not hew to the communist line will be tolerated. The attack on the Catholic Church, which appeared to have slackened for a time, has assumed new strength. Priests have been arrested and the regime press makes its usual charges of "reactionary activities."

The Red Prussian, by Leopold Szwarczchild, the story of the life and work of Karl Marx, is a book that held my interest from start to finish. It is not only informative at a time when such information is most timely but a well written biography. The point, however, that I wish to make is that readers will see for themselves how closely Stalin and his people follow the instructions given by Marx, and what an altogether despicable figure Marx was; it will be easy to accept Kravchenko's testimony that "Every responsible representative of the Soviet Government in the United States may be regarded as an economic or political spy." But it will not be easy to understand why we permitted the showing of the Soviet film "The Vow," which, Drew Middleton writes, "teaches the glories of the communist system, the weaknesses of all others, and the wisdom and the strength of Stalin and his faithful adherence to the ideals of Lenin," who had world revolution as his goal.

**EHRENBURG** is following the Marxian instructions when he writes "we (of the Soviet Union) have sacrificed much blood, we have saved ourselves and also the whole world. When we drove the Germans from the Volga to the Dnieper, it took the Americans and the British two years to sew the last buttons on their new uniforms. The miracle that we won did not at all fit in with their plans. . . . In hundreds of European towns there is a Stalingrad Street, but I have yet to hear of any street in the world called for Lend-Lease. . . ." Employment of insolence, impudence, and lies advocated by Marx as means of attaining party aims characterizes every Soviet move today. Their representative on the UN Social and Economic Council, Morozov, condemns the American press, radio, and movies as being under the control of reactionary groups, while "In the Soviet Union and in certain other countries the press is responsible to democratic social organizations(!)."



# THE NATIONAL QUALITIES OF POLISH PAINTING

by Dr. IRENA PIOTROWSKA

THE NATIONAL QUALITY of Polish art has until recently been a constantly recurring topic of discussion in Polish art circles, as well as the subject of research on the part of Polish art historians. Art is the reflection of a nation's culture. Accessible and comprehensible to all, painting can speak truly and eloquently of the nation which it represents. Hence the tremendous social importance of art.

The question whether a nation's art possesses definite national characteristics arising from the individual qualities of that nation's culture is linked with the social mission which the arts can fulfil in presenting that nation's culture to the rest of the world. Another important problem is what are the conditions and possibilities for the further development of these qualities.

In Polish painting of former centuries native elements are far less evident than they are in the old



Queen of the Angels. Guild painting from Poznan. Early 17th century.

decorative art of the peasants, for painting was practised by professional artists who often travelled abroad or who had ample opportunity to study with foreign artists resident in Poland.

Nevertheless, despite the strong foreign influences, one may observe in the early Polish painting, beginning with the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a greater emphasis upon decorative detail than in the West, a leaning to a harmonious arrangement of a few but saturated colors, a special fondness for gilding; one may further note that the faces of the human figures are always strongly imbued with feeling and lyric mood. The decorative features, the vivid color harmonies, and the tendency towards pensiveness increase in the course of time and are most clearly evident during the first half of the seventeenth century, especially in pictures produced away from the art centers by local artists who had had only an indirect or casual contact with the great currents of contemporaneous art. In fact, we

may say that native Polish elements appear most plainly in paintings standing on the verge of peasant art. Yet, while the products of Polish peasant craft were definitely Polish, the native style of paintings, even of those produced far from flourishing cities, had not become crystallized; it remained in a budding stage. This indeed is a most natural phenomenon, as the development of decorative art always precedes the development of pure art, which is more complex.



Ulrich von Jungingen, Grand-Master of the Teutonic Order. Fragment of Battle of Grunwald by Jan Matejko.

And again, Polish characteristics found their way into art of a general European character, in this case into painting, only in the second half of the nineteenth century, that is during the time of the full bloom of Polish painting. Yet even then the native form elements come into view only sporadically and not always in full. Here and there a distinct tendency to decorative-

ness becomes visible, elsewhere a clear, vivid, harmonious arrangement of colors appears. But these features neither occur simultaneously nor do they strike us by their distinctiveness, as is the case in decorative art. Nevertheless, Polish painting of the nineteenth and of the beginning of the twentieth century was distinctly national in character, thanks to its inner content. The chief accomplishment in that field was by Matejko.

The paintings of this artist are famous for their dramatic intensity, for their strength and depth of expression, for the power of feeling emanating from the figures which he creates. Thus it is the inner content which gives the works of Matejko their national character. The pensiveness of certain figures here and there appearing in pictures from earlier times, or even in the pictures of Matejko's immediate predecessors, grew in the hands of this great master to a strength of feeling which became an integral part of his work.

In all art that followed Matejko, up to the present day—that is, in naturalistic, impressionistic, cubistic, expressionistic, and finally in neo-classical trends—sadness, melancholy, and pensiveness come to the fore as characteristic features of the inner content. Lyric mood is the chief ingredient even of landscapes. Thus Polish painting, though it has not yet said its final word in respect to form, has, as regards content, already achieved a distinctly national quality.



The huge picture *Battle of Grunwald* by Jan Matejko being cleaned after recovery from its hiding place in a stable near Lublin. The Poles hid the picture, which the Germans searched for in vain during their six years' occupation. It depicts the crushing defeat the Germans suffered in 1410.

The Stigmatization by Antoni Michalak.



# NEWS AND COMMENTS

## SOVIET GOLD FOR "POLISH" EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON

**I**N MID JULY a Soviet vessel, S.S. *Marshall Góvorov*, coming from Leningrad, arrived in New York harbor and docked at Pier 15 on Staten Island.

It brought standard products of Russian export such as furs and lamb skins, hair, sheep casings, cotton lintens, alder bark, asbestos, and—of course—propaganda films, all consigned chiefly to Amtorg.

One part of the cargo was unloaded with special precautions and taken under guard across the Upper Bay, past Governors Island, straight to Manhattan to be stored, at least for the time being, in the vaults of the Bankers Trust Company.

There was good reason to be so careful about that mysterious cargo, for it consisted of 82 cases of gold ingots and—which makes the story rather unusual—was consigned to the "Polish" Embassy.

The value of this gold shipment is being estimated at about five and a half million dollars. But be it smaller or larger, the amount does not matter so much as the very fact of Soviet gold coming from Leningrad for the "Polish" Embassy in Washington.

Unless this substantial sum in gold was sent this way to conceal Soviet purchases in this country, the role of the "Polish" Embassy being simply to act as a buying agent for certain materials which will be sent to Poland and then forwarded to Russia, — this strange transaction would mean that Moscow is, rather ostentatiously, taking over the financing of "Polish" diplomatic and other offices in America.

Considering the political and other services rendered to the Kremlin by Russian stooges now in charge of various agencies of the Bierut satellite regime in the United States, this should not surprise anybody.

## MOLOTOV PLAN AND POLAND

Two friends meet on a street in Warsaw just after Poland was forced by Russia to turn her back to the Marshall plan of European reconstruction.

"Haven't you heard yet about the effects of the Molotov plan on Soviet-Polish trade?"

"Not a word!"

"Listen then, how generous those Russians are: Poland will ship to the Soviet Union her whole coal production in exchange for which Russia will accept the entire production of Polish sugar." . . .

## THE NKVD APPROACH

Two security agents escorted Dr. J., a leading physician in one of the Polish cities, to the local security bureau. In a third floor room, overlooking a busy street, two civilians and one uniformed security officer, holding the rank of major, were waiting for the new client. Interrogations began which lasted for several hours. At 6 P. M. the tired physician addressed his inquisitors: "I understand that I am suspected of conspiring against the government." The major interrupted, approached the window and pointed out the crowds in the street with a sweeping gesture: "There are the suspects," he said in a broken Polish, "you are already arraigned for conspiracy and treason."

Dr. J. was sentenced to five years imprisonment but released during the amnesty period. He succeeded recently in escaping from Poland.

## THE MYSTERY OF "GEN. WALTER"

It appears to be common knowledge in Poland that Karol Świerczewski (Gen. Walter of the Spanish civil war) whose death in battle with Ukrainian partisans on March 28, 1947, was reported by Warsaw, did not die from Ukrainian bullets but from one fired into the back of his head by an officer of his entourage. Rumor had it for many months that a feud existed between Świerczewski and Marshal Michał Rola-Zymierski, Warsaw's C. in C. On the other hand, the death of Gen. Walter served the regime with a pretext to begin a mass deportation of the mixed Polish-Ukrainian population from the Polish-Soviet frontier regions. During May and June, 1947, 22,000 peasant families have been moved from this area to former East Prussia. Warsaw sources speak about the "resettlement of Ukrainians," but there are hardly any Ukrainians left in Poland in view of the fact that 483,000 of them had already been shipped to Russia. It is believed rather that the deportations are part of a plan for a creation of an uninhabited 20 mile frontier zone on the Polish side of this new Polish-Soviet border line. Eye witnesses reported that the "resettlement" was carried out by the Polish army under supervision of Soviet officers. People were taken from their homes and placed in barbed-wire enclosed camps. Pregnant women, children and the sick were not excluded. Warsaw announced officially that the deportations will continue in July and August.

## DEFINING FASCISM

British Conservative M. P., Major Tufton Beamish, recalled recently in London the talk he and his colleagues from the House of Commons had had with the then Prime Minister Edward Osobka-Morawski, while visiting Poland early in 1946.

Major Beamish asked Morawski why the National Democratic Party was not allowed to register and function openly. "It is a fascist party," said Morawski.

"Will you kindly explain what you mean by fascism," asked Beamish. The Premier consulted a few men of his entourage and replied rather angrily: "Fascism is a totalitarian form of government under which freedom of speech does not exist, the press is muzzled, and people are thrown into jail without a court sentence."

The Britons couldn't help laughing. Morawski and his advisers remained poker faced.

## FACTS BEHIND THE INFLATION

Foreign observers report that the inflationary rise of prices in Poland during April and May was caused chiefly by the fact that the regime raised the prices of goods manufactured by state-owned factories and stores. Clothing, glassware, tea and beer rose by 100 per cent; products of the paper industry by 300 per cent; railroad tickets by 150 per cent. The regime attempted to compensate in this way for losses in foreign trade caused by low-priced exports to Russia. The private merchants who were buying the goods in the cooperatives and state-owned stores were forced to raise their prices accordingly. The farmers had to neutralize the increased cost of manufactured goods, which they buy in the towns, by a rise in prices for their products. This provided the regime with a handy excuse and all the blame for the inflation was thrown on the "private trade and farmer speculators."

(Please turn to page 14)



# MURDER, INC.

by A. K. ADAMS

**I**T WAS A foregone conclusion that the two thousand Polish communists chosen by Moscow to take over control of that country, could not have accomplished their task without the obliging help of the Soviet army and the NKVD.

When in 1944 the Lublin gang entered Poland in the wake of the Red army, it was primarily a Soviet job to weed out the bulk of the Polish patriots. The Soviets had done a thorough work: the trial of the sixteen underground leaders, the mass deportations of Home Army members, wholesale executions at 6 Brzeska Street in the Warsaw suburb of Praga and in the Lublin Castle, deprived the nation of its most experienced leaders and cleared the way for Bolesław Bierut. According to conservative estimates, from March 1, 1944, until February 28, 1945, the Soviets have deported to Russia 100,000 Polish patriots, mostly Home Army officers and soldiers, and killed another 50,000. Whole platoons of the Home Army were executed by machine gun fire in the Lublin Castle and a notorious embezzler, Michał Rola-Zymierski, who now holds the rank of marshal and is C. in C. of the Polish army, legalized this butchery by signing the execution orders.

At present, as the ace correspondent of the N. Y. Times, James Reston, writes, there is little evidence of the Soviet army's interference in Polish affairs. The Soviets stick to their "communication lines," their airfields, their coastal defense, their sovkhoses in western Poland, their harbors, their gun emplacements, and their fortifications along the Oder River. The policy of non-interference has gone so far that when hoodlums hired by the Warsaw regime were for nine hours slaughtering Jewish population in Kielce and a Jewish delegation asked the local Soviet commander for help, the officer refused "to interfere in internal Polish affairs." Only on occasion do the Soviets let their temper flare as was the case in Wrocław on February 17, 1947, when a Russian escort killed two Polish railroad workers, Ciebiera and Jakubiak, because a truck carrying wheat stolen from Polish farms was accidentally damaged.



Dr. Władysław Piotrowski, attorney-at-law, kidnapped from his office in Katowice on March 17, 1947.

To enable Reston and his colleagues to write about Soviet non-interference, the NKVD troops, stationed at Jagiellonska Street in Praga, have been ordered not to appear on the streets of Warsaw between 7 A. M. and 7 P. M. It is understood that other Soviet army and uniformed NKVD troops are under similar orders.

Once the bulk of the patriots were made harmless, Bierut, Gomułka, Berman, Zawadzki, Minc and last but not least Stanisław Radkiewicz could be entrusted with perpetuating the communist rule and preserving peace and security. This does not mean, of course, that the Soviets have declared a *désintéressement*: they still keep their "liaison officers" in the Polish

army, the Ministries, the provincial and district administration and above all in the security apparatus where the majority of top ranking men still speak Russian as their native language. Since March of this year the Soviets have even demonstrated an increased curiosity about what is going on in "independent Poland": special Russian-type telephones have been installed in all central and provincial security and militia (police) headquarters. These telephones are connected directly with the provincial H. Q.'s of the Soviet army. The central offices have private lines to Marshal Rokossovsky's H. Q. in Legnica.

Their flanks protected by Marshal Rokossovsky and Ambassador Lebyedev, the Lublin men could proceed smoothly with the introduction of democracy into "fascist" Poland. They established military courts, people's courts, special courts, puppet parties, secret prisons, forced labor camps, fake budgets, double currency; they muzzled the press, nationalized printing shops, corrected the nation's history, sent political commissars into the schools and universities, and generally took charge of the youth of Poland. They conducted a referendum to learn the geographical distribution of the opposition forces and consequently scored an election "victory" in comparison to which the Kansas City election looks like a child's game. They were stumped by the problem of the Roman Catholic Church. Only recently, after having attended every Holy Mass possible, when they discovered appeasement methods simply did not work, did they embark upon a stern course, arresting scores of priests.

Notwithstanding the other means used in establishing a people's democracy in Poland, the weapon used often and most successfully is murder.

Political murder is the most significant feature of present day Poland. It is not directed against the mass of the people. The period of wholesale executions is over. The weapon of murder is employed against selected individuals, preferably against dangerous political opponents. The regime is not advertising this method: people are killed under cover of night, in isolated places, in their homes or disappear without leaving any trace. It is only in the rare cases when the security agents proceed in an awkward manner that the sudden death of an individual attracts public attention and is reported in the press. In such instances trials are organized at which security officers pose as defendants, admit their guilt and "confess" that they were hired by Gen. Anders or the British



Dr. Eryk Winkler, a physician, tortured to death by Warsaw security agents for refusing to sign a "confession."

(Please turn to page 14)



# THREE POEMS

by CYPRIAN NORWID

(1821-1883)

## VERONA

Above this place where crumbling castles brood  
Behind their rusty gates upon the feud  
Of Capulet and Montague;  
Above these ruins of young love's domain,  
Shaken by thunder, washed by tender rain,  
A star falls arching from the blue...

The night has shed a tear upon the tomb  
Where love of youth for youth closed on their doom—  
The cypresses have breathed it so . . .  
No, never that, men learnedly intone;  
What fell was not a tear but just a stone,  
Unwanted refuse here below.

## LASTLINES TO A LADY

Give me a sky-blue ribbon—  
I'll give it straight back to you!  
Or give me your winsome shadow—  
No, never will that do!

Your beckoning arm will distort it,  
For a shadow does not lie!  
Fair maid, you have nothing to offer  
Such a one as I . . .

For I have been erstwhile rewarded  
By beauty far less vain—  
A lone leaf spread on my window,  
Pinned there a droplet of rain.

## PITY

When TEARS are shed, the world whips out its handkerchief;  
When BLOOD is spilled, the world comes running sponge in hand;  
But when the SPIRIT spills its cup of grief,  
The world reserves its will to understand  
Until, by thunder bolt, the vessel's broken  
And God has spoken . . .

Translated by LOLA GAY-TIFFT

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## THE TWO ALTERNATIVES OF POLAND'S FOREIGN POLICY

(Continued from page 3)

a subservient satellite. Therefore, a policy of compromise for the Poles would have been hopeless. Mr. Kulski tries to show in vain that both sides have an equal share of responsibility in what he calls "a historic opportunity." On the contrary, thanks to the uncompromising attitude of Poland's president (the late Wladyslaw Racziewicz) and government who rejected the unconditional surrender, Poland did not legally become a satellite, as did Czechoslovakia: there is still a free Poland, in spite of the occupation of the country by Russia and her puppets. That unconquered nation is still waiting for a real "historic opportunity."

Such an opportunity liberated Poland in 1918 and gave her twenty years of real independence which are badly misrepresented in Mr. Kulski's article, beginning with his paradoxical statement that until 1933 Poland "could have no foreign policy, in the sense that a policy implies the possibility of choice between alternatives." In those years she very definitely chose the alternative not to appease either of her neighbors, but to cooperate with the western powers, and even after 1933 Poland's policy of neutrality between Germany and Russia, although certainly not free from mistakes, was not at all a "childish dream." The only new information given by Mr. Kulski, confirms but the obvious truth that real cooperation was impossible with either Germany or Russia. While the Poles were studying a Russian proposal of a treaty of collaboration in 1933, "they were informed by the Germans that Berlin had simultaneously received a similar proposal from Moscow, substituting Germany for Poland."

But did not cooperation with the western democracies also end in failure? It is true that the French alliance proved no sufficient guarantee of Polish security, but it is unfair to say that this alliance made Poland "a French satellite." We have learned from both Hitler and Stalin what the word satellite really means. It is also true that as early as October 1939 some statements of the British government with regard to its Polish ally were "somewhat unprecedented," but that does not prove at all that the alliance between Poland and Great Britain was artificial in itself.

And last, but not least, there remains America! It is wrong to say that "the Americans and the British could only acknowledge the accomplished facts," at Yalta. Today most Americans recognize that great mistakes were made at Yalta. In order to avoid similar mistakes in the future, all Americans must know "the sources of Soviet conduct." These sources are to be found in the same issue of *Foreign Affairs* in which Mr. Kulski's article appeared, in an article by a distinguished statesman who preferred to remain anonymous. But what is just as necessary, is a better understanding of Soviet attitude toward specific cases which deeply affect international peace. Poland is just such a case, because, contrary to Mr. Kulski's resigned statement, all western powers have a vital interest in the Baltic Sea (otherwise nobody would have died for Dantzig), and because Poland is more than just a part of the Baltic region. A prominent American rightly called Poland "the key to Europe," because, if really free and sustained by the West, she divides the only two powers which endanger the peace of Europe and of the world.



## LIEUT. PHILLIP MOUNTBATTEN, A GREAT-GRANDSON OF A POLISH COUNTESS

IT IS NOT generally known that Lieut. Phillip Mountbatten, the fiancé of Princess Elizabeth, future Queen of England, is a direct descendant of a Polish patriot, through his great-grandmother, Julia Theresa, Countess of Battenberg.

Julia Theresa's grandfather, Fryderyk Karol Hauke (1737-1810) settled in Warsaw in 1782 at the request of King Stanislaw August, as an instructor in military sciences at the Lyceum. His son Maurycy Hauke joined the artillery corps at the age of 14. He participated in the Russo-Polish war of 1792, fighting valiantly for the independence of his country under Prince Joseph Poniatowski, then in the Kosciuszko uprising. Later he joined the Polish legions, taking part in the siege of Mantua and in the campaigns of Lombardy and Naples, and became a trusted adjutant of General Dąbrowski. In 1806 he followed General Dąbrowski to Poland and fought in the battles at Tczew, Gdansk, and Frydland. In 1809, raised to the rank of Brigadier-General, he fought under General Zajaczek. In 1813 he defended Zamosc against the Russians as long as the supplies lasted.

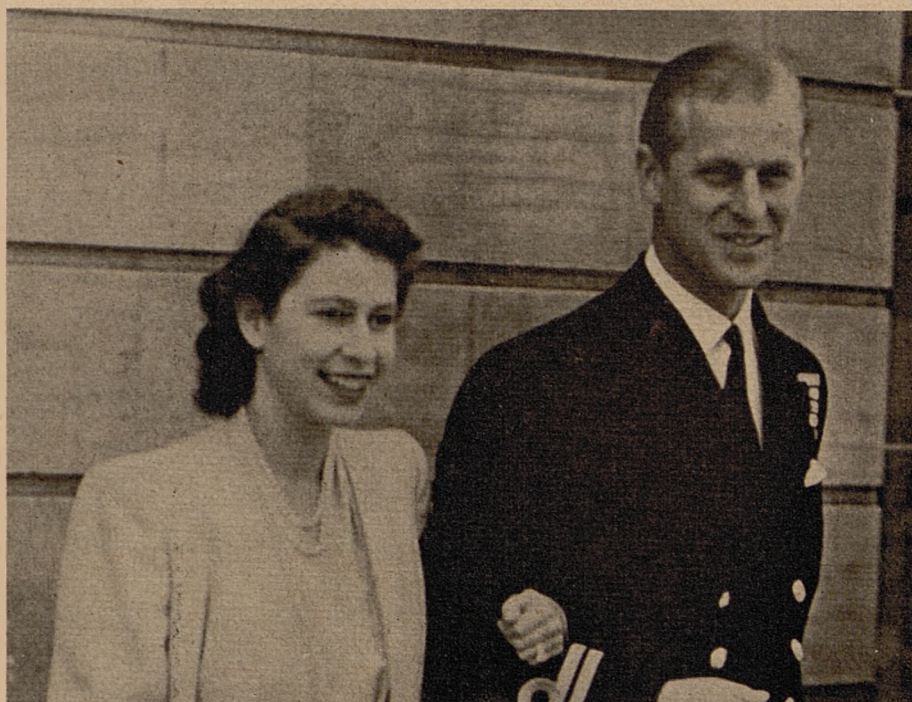
During the existence of the Congressional Kingdom, he acted as Minister of Foreign Affairs. For services rendered he was appointed Senator and Vaivode, and in 1830 received the title of count (of the coat of arms Bosak) of the Polish Kingdom. He died in the Uprising of 1830.

He was an exceptionally upright, courageous and generous man; a superior organizer, splendid officer, an excellent artillery man with a profound knowledge of mathematics.

He was married to Sophie Lafontaine, the daughter of an army doctor, with whom he had eleven children. The youngest, Julia Theresa (1825-1895), a famous beauty, was educated in St. Petersburg. She was for a time a lady in waiting to the empress Maria Alexandrovna. It was probably in St. Petersburg that she met Alexander, the younger son of Louis II, Grand-Duke of Hesse. Falling in love, they contracted a morganatic marriage on October 28, 1851.

Julia Theresa had the title of Countess of Battenberg bestowed on her at the time of her marriage. (The name of Battenberg belonged to a family of German counts, which had died out in the fourteenth century.) Because the marriage was a morganatic one, the children of the union wore their mother's name. In 1858 the countess and her children were raised to the rank of princess and princesses of Battenberg, with the right to use the additional title of *Durchlaucht* or Serene Highness.

In 1917 the eldest son of Julia Theresa and Grand-Duke



Princess Elizabeth and Lieutenant Phillip Mountbatten, descendant of a Polish countess.

Alexander of Hesse, Louis Alexander (1854-1921), who had become an admiral in the British navy, was created Marquess of Milford Haven. At the request of King George V, the members of the family who lived in England renounced the German title of Battenberg and adopted the surname of Mountbatten (a translation of Battenberg).

Louis Alexander married Princess Victoria, the daughter of Louis IV, Grand-Duke of Hesse, by whom he had a daughter, Alice, born in 1885. Alice married Prince Andrew of Greece and in 1926 bore him a son, Phillip. The former prince of Greece, now Lieutenant Mountbatten, is the future prince-consort of England.

It is to be hoped that the family tradition of Lieut. Phillip Mountbatten will tie the two nations with still closer bonds of friendship.

Of the other children of Princess of Battenberg, Alexander Joseph (1857-93) was elected Prince Alexander I of Bulgaria in 1879. The third son, Henry Maurice, married on July 23, 1885, Beatrice, youngest daughter of Victoria, queen of England. He became a naturalized Englishman and was appointed captain general and governor of the Isle of Wight and governor of Carisbrooke. He died at sea in 1896. The fourth son, Francis Joseph (1861-1924) married in 1897, Anna, daughter of Nicholas I, prince of Montenegro.

The only daughter of Princess of Battenberg, Marie Caroline (1852-1923) was married in 1871 to Gustavus Ernest, prince of Erbach-Schoenberg.



(Continued from page 10)

At present the price committees established by Hilary Minc, the Minister of Industry and Trade, are having a field day roaming the cities, pestering the merchants and punishing them for "speculation." In the city of Krakow alone 70 merchants were sent to forced labor camps for keeping false accounts. Their shops—incidentally the most prosperous in the city—were taken over by the state. Similar reports are coming in from other parts of the country.

## IN BRIEF

One of the prominent National Democrats, Zbigniew Stypuńkowski, who was sentenced to four months imprisonment in the Moscow trial of the sixteen Polish underground leaders, escaped from Poland after his release and is now in London. On July 1st, Stypuńkowski was invited by the parliamentary club of the British Labor Party to lecture on his experiences in Russia. The meeting was attended by nearly one hundred members of the House of Commons.

Strikes were officially declared illegal by the Central Committee of the Labor Unions in Warsaw.

★ ★ ★ ★

The Ministry of National Defense announced that 38,907 members of the Warsaw armed forces were benefited by the amnesty. This means that every fourth soldier had been involved in some sort of criminal activity.

★ ★ ★ ★

Earlier this year communist Warsaw journalists paid a visit to Moscow. They were invited to a ballet performance. One of the scenes presented the symbolic acceptance of Poland into the Soviet Union. Poland was symbolized by a young girl dressed in white and red; the Soviet Union by a motherly looking majestic, elderly woman.

★ ★ ★ ★

In June, 1947, Sammy Grant, a colored sailor of the British freighter "Rodney Baxter" went ashore in Stettin and returned after a few hours bare footed and bare-headed. The lower parts of his body were modestly wrapped in a local Russian language newspaper.

## MURDER, INC.

(Continued from page 11)

Intelligence. A few examples should illustrate how wide is the scope of political murder and how various the methods employed:

Dr. Eryk Winkler, a physician in Nowa Wies (Upper Silesia) and one of the leaders of the National Party, was abducted from his home on May 6, 1945, and tortured to death in the Mikołowska Street prison in Katowice for refusing to sign a "confession." Dr. Winkler was known among his friends as "a man of steel." He had survived three separate rounds of Gestapo torture and it took Radkiewicz's agents three months to kill him.

Schoolmaster Hanke, Dr. Łukowski and a pre-war member of Parliament, Sikorski, were taken on December 1, 1945 to a wood near Grojec, shot to death and buried.

Augustyn Buchalik, the secretary of the Polish Socialist Party for the Rybnik district in Silesia, was killed on April 19, 1946, on an isolated road between the towns of Rybnik and Zory. A few days before his death Buchalik had made a strong speech against cooperation with the communists.

Stanisław Bardasz, a Catholic youth leader, was shot at his home in Stettin at 5 Moczyński Street, on July 9, 1946, by six security agents. As in the notorious case of the secretary of the Polish Peasant Party in Łódź, Bolesław Sciborek, the telephone wires leading to Bardasz's home had been severed before the murder.

On July 19, 1946, Joseph Jeleszuk, a county chairman of the PSL, was summoned by the security authorities to the town of Międzyrzecz Podlaski. While cycling with his brother to the town, Jeleszuk was stopped by three unknown men and shot upon identification.

A small farmer, a member of the PSL (Polish Peasant Party), Władysław Slimak, and his wife, were murdered on February 21, 1947, in the Krazki District of Rzeszów,

by a band of men in Polish army uniforms. While perpetrating the crime, the agents-provocateurs shouted: "Long live President Raczkiewicz."

Dr. Władysław Piotrowski, attorney-at-law in the city of Katowice, was taken from his office on March 17, 1947, by two men, one of whom was recognized as Colonel Kratko, a Soviet officer in charge of the citizens' militia in Katowice. Nothing has been heard of Dr. Piotrowski since and grave suspicions are entertained as to his fate. Dr. Piotrowski was a National Party member and gained fame by his courageous defense in military and people's courts.

Roman Motyka, a prominent Socialist, was shot in a Silesian restaurant at the end of April, 1947. The murderers staged a holdup, terrorized the patrons and escaped after shooting Motyka.

The cases cited above cover the two year period since the Lublin gang took over the "business" from the Soviets and illustrate the variety of methods employed, as well as the wide political and social scope of the victims. They are sample cases and each of them stands for many similar ones.

Reviewing the present situation in Poland one easily reaches the conclusion that the Warsaw regime of agents provocateurs has one principal objective—to break the spirit of the Polish nation and prepare the country for incorporation into the Soviet Union. This explains their behavior and attitude towards the people. While considering the Lublin gang as enemies of the Polish people and doing everything possible to get them out of Poland, one cannot but feel contempt for the quislings and opportunists who have agreed to represent the regime in foreign countries and try by lies and misrepresentations to obscure the true plight of Poland. It must be rather distasteful for the American representatives to shake hands with those Ambassadors and Consuls who are stamped with the lowest possible crime: Betrayal of their own country.





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to

**The Polish National Alliance of the U. S. A. Convention  
In Cleveland, Ohio, August 24-29, 1947**

**JUDGE H. JAKUBOWSKI**

**Dunellen, N. J.**

**CANDIDATE FOR DIRECTOR P. N. A. (Obwód B)**

**SUCCESS AND BEST WISHES**

to

**THE POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF THE U. S. A. CONVENTION  
Cleveland, Ohio, August 24-29, 1947**

from

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